

## Message Text

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SUBJECT: POLISH MEDIA COMMENTARY ON TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF  
WARSAW PACT INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REF: BERLIN 5523

1. SUMMARY. POLISH NEWSPAPER COMMENTARY JUSTIFIED THE  
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"FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE" OF AUGUST 1968, AS HAVING SAVED  
CZECHOSLOVAK "SOCIALISM" FROM WESTERN MACHINATIONS  
AND COUNTERREVOLUTION, AND EXTOLLED ALLEGEDLY MAJOR CSSR  
ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE ENSUING DECADE. A "HISTORICAL"  
MAGAZINE ARTICLE LINKED THE "ANTI-SOCIALIST OPPOSITION"  
ARISING UNDER DUBCEK AND ZIONISM, AND ALLEGED THE  
DUBCEK GOVERNMENT HAD PLANNED CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR

FAITHFUL COMMUNISTS. THE ARTICLE IMPLIED THAT THE WARSAW PACT INTERVENTION SAVED THE ENDANGERED PRINCIPLES ON WHICH PEACE IN EUROPE WAS BASED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE "RESCUE OF SOCIALISM" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE USSR AND ITS WARSAW PACT COHORTS IN AUGUST, 1968, ELICITED LENGTHY EDITORIAL COMMENT FROM MAJOR WARSAW DAILIES. EDITORIALIST ADAM WYSOCKI, WRITING IN THE AUGUST 19-20 EDITION OF THE MASS CIRCULATION NEWSPAPER ZYCIE WARSZAWY, CREDITED THE HUSAK REGIME WITH STUNNING ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH HAVE TRANSFORMED CZECHOSLOVAKIA INTO A VIRTUAL CONSUMER PARADISE, AND LAMBASTED THE ALLEGED ATTEMPT TEN YEARS AGO TO PULL CZECHOSLOVAKIA OUT OF THE SOCIALIST ORBIT, "WHEN THE REVISIONISTS WERE REMOVED FROM POWER IN AUGUST 1968," WYSOCKI WROTE, "THEY AND THEIR WESTERN PROTECTORS PREDICTED IN UNISON THAT ONLY CHAOS AND DECLINE WOULD TAKE PLACE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE...THE INTERNATIONAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA NOT ONLY WAS NOT IMPAIRED AS A RESULT OF THESE EFFORTS BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, INCREASED MEASURABLY AND TANGIBLY IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD..."

3. THE "THE WORLD REMEMBERS," WYSOCKI CONTINUED, "HOW GREAT A THREAT WAS THE ATTEMPT MADE BY CERTAIN CIRCLES TO TEAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA FROM THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NOT ONLY TO DETENTE BUT ALSO TO THE TOTAL BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE AND THUS TO PEACE. IT IS SUFFICIENT TO LOOK AT THE MAP IN ORDER TO SEE WHAT IMPORTANCE IT COULD HAVE HAD AND WHO WOULD HAVE PROFITED. IT IS NOT INCIDENTAL THAT FOR MANY YEARS NOW SO MUCH NOISE CAN BE HEARD FROM MUNICH, WHERE NOT A BENE, IN ADDITION TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS, THE LARGEST NUMBER OF SUDETEN DP'S RESIDE. IN THE SUMMER OF 1968 THEY BEGAN TO PACK THEIR BAGS IN PREPARATION FOR THEIR HEIMKEHR. THE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATION BY THE FRATERNAL COUNTRIES WRECKED THOSE AND OTHER PLANS."

4. AN UNSIGNED EDITORIAL IN TRYBUNA LUDU, THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY (PZPR), ON AUGUST 21 MINED THE SAME LOPE. ACCORDING TO THE EDITORIAL, "IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PERFORMANCE THE SEVENTIES HAVE BEEN THE MOST SUCCESSFUL AND FRUITFUL PERIOD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA... THE UNQUESTIONABLE GAINS AND DEEP ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN CZECHOSLO-

VAKIA--THAT CANNOT BE DENIED EVEN BY THE A ANTI-COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA CENTERS IN THE WEST, WHICH HAVE BEEN SPECIALIZING RECENTLY IN INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS, FULL OF LIES, AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES--ARE ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE SINCE THEY FOLLOWED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY THE MOST DIFFICULT PERIOD OF THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY CAUSED BY THE ACTION OF THE RIGHT-WING OPPORTUNIST FORCES IN 1968...THE HOSTILE ACTION DIRECTED AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS ALSO AIMED AT SOCIALIM AS SUCH: THE OBJECTIVE WAS TO UPSET THE STATUS QUO IN EUROPE."

5. TRYBUNA LUDU ALSO CARRIED A POLISH NEWS AGENCY (PAP) VERSION OF THE AUGUST 21 RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ON THE 1968 EVENTS.

6. A LONG ARTICLE BY ZBIGNIEW KOT IN THE AUGUST 18 ISSUE OF THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY PERSPEKTYWY RANG THE CHANGES ON THE ABOVE THEMES AND INTRODUCED SOME EVEN NASTIER ONES. IN WHAT PURPORTED TO BE A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS FROM JANUARY TO AUGUST 1968, KOT MADE THESE POINTS INTER ALIA:

(A) IN 1968 ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES, ABETTED BY RIGHT-WING OPPORTUNIST GROUPS IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNISTS PARTY (CPCS), AND BACKED BY INTERNATIONAL REACTION, ATTEMPTED TO OVERTHROW THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN CZECHOSLBKAKIA.

(B) THE AFTERMATHIUFICTQSUMOEVENHSIAAYEBEEN OVERCOME AND THE DAMAGE THEY INFLICTED ON THE COUNTRY AND PARTY REPAIRED.

(C) THE JANUARY 3-5 , 1968, METING OF THE CPCS CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT WHICH ALEXANDER DUBCEK REPLACED ANTONIN NOVOTNY AS PARTY FIRST SECRETARY, TOOK ACTION TO OVERCOME PAST MISTAKES AND DEFORMATIONS AND SEEK WASY LEADING TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY--"A NECESSARY AND UNAVOIDABLE PROCESS," SAID GUSTAV HUSAK AT THE TIME.

(D) SHORTLY THEREAFTER, IN A FAR-SIGHTED WARNING" HUSAK WROTE OF THE THREAT OF ANARCHY IN PUBLIC LIFE THAT WAS UNDERMINING PARTY AND GOVERNMENT, AND POINTED TO VARIOUS ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES THAT WERE THRIVING; TERRORIZING PEOPLE AND BRANDISHING LOFTY SLOGANS. HE SAID, THEY WERE PUSHING HARD TO GAIN

THEIR END AND COME TO POWER.

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(E) "THE ANTI-SOCIALIST OPPOSITION BECAME INSTITUTIONALIZED AND PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH ZIONISM PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN IT. ORGANIZATIONS WITH NAMES... CALCULATED TO WIN THE SYMPATHY OF THE PUBLIC BEGAN TO SPRING UP LIKE MUSHROOMS AFTER RAIN": THE CLUB OF ENGAGED NON-PARTY PEOPLE, WHOSE CHIEF IDEOLOGUE HELD THE VIEW THAT THE LEADING ROLE OF THE CPC'S HAD OUTLIVED ITS DAY; AND K-231, CLAIMING TO SEEK REHABILITATION OF POLITICAL VICTIMS OF STALINISM BUT WHOSE

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MEMBERS INCLUDED "FORMER FASCIST GENERALS, SS OFFICERS, AND MINISTERS OF THE SO-CALLED SLOVAK STATE SET UP BY THE NAZI AUTHORITIES." THE DUBCEK LEADERSHIP SHOWED A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF TOLERANCE TOWARD SUCH ANTI-SOCIALIST CENTERS.

(F) THE PAMPHLET "2,000 WORDS," PUBLISHED IN JUNE, WENT FURTHER. CALLING FOR STRIKES AND DISTURBANCES, "IT WAS A DIRECT ENCOURAGEMENT TO ACTS OF VIOLENCE

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AGAINST PEOPLE DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM, TO ACTION DESIGNED TO DESTROY THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM." AS COUNTERPOINT, FRANTISEK KRIEGL, PARTY PRESIDUM MEMBER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, CLAIMING FOR THE FRONT THE COMPETENCE OF FORMING THE NATIONAL POLITICAL LINE IN A PROCESS INVOLVING CONFRONTATION OF VIEWS AND MUTUAL COMPROMISE, ESPOUSED "AN OPEN RESIGNATION FROM THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY AND... OPEN COMPROMISE WITH THE ENEMIES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM."

(G) MEANWHILE, REVISIONIST THEORETICIANS ATTEMPTED TO PROVE THE CORRECTNESS OF THE THEORY OF IDEOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE AND ECONOMISTS SUCH AS OTASIK CONCENTRATION ON THE "SO CALLED 'NEW ECONOMIC MODEL' AND THE SEARCH FOR A 'NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE'" WHICH WAS BASED ON THEORIES OF WESTERN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS.

(H) WHILE THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC WAS THE TARGET OF ATTACKS BY ITS OPEN ENEMIES, THE LEADERSHIP Sought TO PLAY DOWN THE THREAT. FOR EXAMPLE THE PARTY PRESIDUM, "DOMINATED BY PEOPLE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH ALEXANDER DUBCEK," BRUSHED ASIDE A JULY 15 LETTER FROM FIVE FRATERNAL PARTIES EXPRESSING THEIR CONCERN OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

(I) ACTUALLY, HOWEVER, THREATS INCLUDING THOSE OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE WERE MOUNTING AGAINST TRUE COMMUNISTS. ACTIONS WERE ORGANIZED AGAINST THE STATE AUTHORITIES, THE SECURITY ORGANS AND THE MILITIA. ULTRA-RIGHTIST MEMBERS OF THE PRAGUE MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE, "WHERE THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY GROUP RALLIED," COORDINATED A PLAN WITH THE MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO SET UP CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR PARTY ACTIVISTS WHO WERE EXPECTED

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TO FIGHT AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES.

(J) "AT THE SAME TIME HUNDREDS OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENTS, WHO CROSSED THE CZECHOSLOVAK WESTERN BORDERS WITHOUT ANY DIFFICULTY AS TOURISTS, RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM 20 HIGH-POWERED RADIO STATIONS WHICH IMPERIALIST SEDITIONARY CENTERS HAD INSTALLED NEAR THE CZECHOSLOVAK BORDER." IN ADDITION, THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS RECEIVED MUCH INFORMATION ABOUT WEAPONS SMUGGLED INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA FROM THE WEST--INFORMATION THEY TOOK CARE TO CONCEAL FROM THE PUBLIC.

(K) IN PARALLEL WITH THESE EVENTS, A CAMPAIGN WAS CONDUCTED AIMED AT NEUTRALIZING CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND IMPAIRING HER BONDS WITH THE WARSAW PACT. THE HEAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MILITARY DEPARTMENT, GENERAL PRCHLIK, OPENLY CRITICIZED THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PACT IN WHAT BECAME A FAMOUS SCANDAL.

(1) DURING THE FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF 1968, THE LEADERS OF THE USSR, BULGARIA, THE GDR, POLAND AND HUNGARY HELD MANY TALKS WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS, SEEKING TO ALERT THEM TO THE DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CSSR. THE LAST OF THESE MEETINGS, THE BRATISLAVA CONFERENCE OF AUGUST 3, GAVE HOPE THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP WOULD BE ABLE TO STOP THE DANGEROUS COURSE OF EVENTS IN TIME. INSTEAD, THE LEADERSHIP TREATED THE CONFERENCE ONLY AS A MANEUVER TO GAIN TIME FOR CONVENING A PARTY CONGRESS WHICH, AS TRYBUNA LUDU WROTE CORRECTLY, WAS AIMED AT REMOVING "ACTIVISTS DEVOTED TO SOCIALISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" FROM MANAGERIAL PARTY POSTS. THIS WOULD HAVE MEANT TRANSFORMING THE CPCS INTO A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND OPENING THE WAY FOR THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

(M) IN THIS "DRAMATIC SITUATION," THEREFORE, SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS THREATENED, AS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WERE THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH PIECE IN EUROPE WAS BASED. THE WESTERN COUNTRIES' POLICY AIMED AT SPLITTING THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND RESTORING CAPITALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD FOUND ALLIES WHO, UNDER THE SLOGAN "IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALISM", ENDEAVORED TO ANNIHILATE THE CZECHOSLOVAK WORKING MASSES' REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS. (UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, NOT IMPLIED, THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO INTERVENTION BY THE FRATERNAL COUNTRIES.)

7. COMMENT: APART FROM THEIR OBVIOUS MOTIVATION OF JOINING THE SELF-JUSTIFYING CHORUS OF THE COUNTRIES

WHICH RENDERED "FATERNAL ASSISTANCE" IN AUGUST 1968,  
(AND TELLING LEONID BREZHNEV YET ANOTHER TIME HOW  
RIGHT HE WASL, IT IS NOT ALTOGETHER EASY TO IDENTIFY  
WHAT OR WHOM THESE ARTICLES, ESPECIALLY KOT'S ARE  
AIMED AT. THEY CLEARLY CONTAIN A MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGE-  
MENT TO HUSKA TO HAND IN THERE. HOWEVER, THE STRESS ON  
ALLEGED MAJOR IMPORVEMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S CONSUMER  
ECONOMY DURING HUSAK'S TENURE RUNS OBVIOUS RISKS OF  
AROUSING ENVY AMONG POLISH READERS AND STILL MORE  
QUESTIONS ON THEIR PART ABOUT WHY THINGS ARE NOT BETTER IN  
POLAND. (IN CONTRAST TO NON-OFFICIAL EAST GERMAN  
ATTITUDES AS REFLECTED IN REFTEL PARA 3, WE DOUBT  
THAT THE AVERAGE POLE, UNSYMPATHETIC AS HE MAY BE  
TO THE 1968 AIM OF SAVING "SOCIALISM" IN THE CSSR,  
FEELS ANY GREAT REMORSE OVER POLAND'S ROLE IN THE  
INVASION. DISLIKE FOR THE CZECHS (ALTHOUGH NOT  
THE SLOVAKS) IS WIDESPAREAD ENOUGH TO SUGGEST  
THAT WHATEVER CONTRIITION MAY EXIST TEN YEARS AFTE  
WOULD BE CONCENTRATED AMONG INTELLECTUALS (E.G.  
JACEK KURON?) PREDISPOSED IN FAVOR OF THE OBJECTIVES  
OF THE PRAGUE SPRING.)

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8. KOT'S ARTICLE DREDGES UP MOST IF NOT ALL THE  
CANARDS HEARD AFTER THE INVASION FROM SOVIET PUBLICISTS  
AND RESURGENT CZECHOSLOVAK HARD-LINERS HIS REFERENCE  
TO "PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH ZIONISM" HAS PARTICULARLY  
UGLY OVERTONES EVOKING OTHER UNHAPPY EVENTS OF 1968;  
THE ANTI-SEMITIC PURGES OF PARTY AND INTELLIGANTSIA--  
IN POLAND. FINALLY, IT MAY BE OF PASSING INTEREST THAT  
THE KOT WHO TAKES SUCH ZEALOUSLY ORTHODOX MUSCOVITE  
COMMUNISTS POSITIONS IN HIS PERSPEKTYVY APOLOGIA REPUTEDLY  
HAS ONE OF POLAND'S LARGEST COLLECTIONS OF MEMORABILIA  
OF MARSHAL PILSUDSKI, WHO WAS, TO SAY THE LEAST , NO  
DEVOTEE OF COMMUNISM OR THE SOVIET UNION. END COMMENT  
BROWN

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